

THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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BUELL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS.

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WASHINGTON, JUNE 11, 1849.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

BY ELLWOOD FISHER.

Letter on the North and the South, delivered before the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati, Ohio, January 16, 1849.

[CONCLUDED.]

It has generally been supposed that the people of Massachusetts and New York are principally foreign emigrants. In the foreign population of Massachusetts in 1836 only 1,192 were of foreign birth—but little over one-fifth, which does not probably exceed the proportion, of that population in the State. In 1840, of 1,016 persons in Boston, 360 were Irish; but, of that year, of Irish families, in 1845, of 18,963 paupers received into the almshouses of Massachusetts, 7,413 were foreigners.* We do not know what proportion of the people of that State are foreigners; in Boston, there is about

When pauperism reaches the class that are able to labor, it is evident that the wages of labor are reduced to the cost of subsistence. And those who claim the right to work, to the men who are in the terrible necessity of working, rather to avoid the poor-house, than of bettering their condition; and the pauper in an almshouse is a slave. He works under a master, and receives nothing but a subsistence. And there are already in New York, about three thousand almshouse inmates in this condition, about an equal number occasionally so, and they are increasing at the rate of two hundred per cent, whilst the whole population does not increase twenty per cent in ten years. In Cincinnati, the number of almshouse inmates and occasional, already amounts to two thousand.

Whilst the property of the North is thus compelled to contribute to the support of this great and growing burden, and the labor of the North must not only assist its support, but also must work, and work with it, they are subjected to another mighty evil, which springs from, or at least is aggravated by, the same cause—and that is, crime.

The number of convicts in the three penitentiaries of New York, Auburn, Sing Sing, and Blackwall's Island—is about two thousand. In the penitentiary of Virginia there are only one hundred and eleven whites, and eighty-nine blacks. This indicates four times the amount of crime in proportion to the whole population. In Massachusetts, there are four thousand and one hundred and thirty—Ohio being twenty-five per cent, the most, according to population. According to the returns of the Kentucky penitentiary, one-half of her convicts, for the last ten years, came from the single county of Lawrence; her principal犯人 is located—and one-third of the whole number were born in free States. According to the States of the North—agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial—1,143 convicts are in those of the South, and in the South, the results are uniformly and largely in favor of the South.

If we turn to the official reports of crime in the great cities of the North, we behold a state of society existing which is a scandal to a spiritual nation. The number of persons annually assigned to the police force is ten thousand; and of this number, about one-third are females. So that one person out of every fourteen males, and one out of every twenty-eight females, is arrested annually for some offense. There may be some who are arraigned more than once a year, but on the other hand, there must be many who escape detection altogether.

In New York, the proportion of crime is about the same as in the South; persons who have been arrested there last year—Out of 1,192, six thousand were for drunkenness; twelve thousand were committed to the Tombs for examination, of whom ten thousand were sent to the State prison. There were 1,016 sent to the State prison, 1,016 men, and 176 women; to the city prison, 163 men, and 67 women; total, 981 men, and 245 women; showing an amount of crime, in a single city, greater than in all the Southern States together, in the Kentucky, and the like.

The enormous amount of crime in the Eastern cities, which already rival the depravity of those of Europe, has been ascribed to the multitude of European emigrants. The returns do not make any exact statement. Of 7,900 persons in the jails and houses of correction in New York, there were only 1,165 natives of foreign countries. This is less than one-fourth the whole number, and cannot vary materially from the proportions of the foreign population in the States.*

Whilst the South has been more than the North in life and property from individual crime, it has been, at least, equally exempt from social disturbance. The apprehensions of danger, from the dissimilarity of its white and black population, have been realized at first, about two to one. Even in Brazil, where this proportion is reversed, where there are two blacks to one white, tranquillity has reigned for a quarter of a century. It is remarkable that Brazil and the United States are the nations on this continent where African slavery prevails, the only two which have succeeded in the establishment of a stable and flourishing social and political institution. The Southern American States where the slaves have been made to introduce political equality among the colored population, and to exercise their right to property and conjecture. There may be now the experience of half a century, and the result is before us in the facts I have presented—facts against which we are compelled to argue, notwithstanding the prejudices, opinions, or theories of any section, or of any portion of the other.

It will be observed I do not compare whole populations of the North with the whole population of the South. I am comparing the whites, only of the sections, it being the first object to ascertain the effects of their respective institutions on the whites of the sections, not only because they are similar in climate and productive power, but because they are the effects of the two systems are more directly, and, as it were, the great contrast.

There is a class of topics a more intangible nature, but not the less important, and which are much insisted on in this controversy, that now remain to be briefly noticed. It is urged that religion and education are more prevalent and flourishing in the North than in the South. The form of religion existing in New England, and in the Northern States, was extremely strict and self-denying. The people of Virginia, the Episcopal, was then one of the most rigid of the Protestant sects. But it is well known, that the Puritan character has been rapidly degenerating, and passing away. Indeed, the forms of that faith are no longer to be found in New England. The ancient seat of the power, and the chief place of the Unitarians have prevailed, and they are gaining ground rapidly in New England. A change has occurred in Virginia, but a change in the opposite direction. Instead of the Episcopalians, the Baptists

are predominant in Virginia. Thus, under the operation of their respective institutions, the religion of Massachusetts has receded from one of the most strict, to one of the most relaxed systems of the Protestant faith—while Virginia has advanced from one of the most indulgent, to one of the strictest forms of religion.

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In Hayti, the black, after exterminating the white population, remained independent and isolated, the exclusive architect of its own institutions and destiny. The result is, that they have advanced to the point where they are contented. I hold it to be the duty of even of them to subvert the established order of things, to manifest at least as much respect for experience as experiment; and it is often that the experience of emancipation has been the ample and divinely inspired.

It is in education that the North claims the greatest pre-eminence over the South. In Massachusetts, according to the census of 1840, there were 4,700,000 persons above the age of twenty, who could not read and write—and in Virginia, there were 58,787. In Ohio, there were 35,364; in Kentucky, 40,016; in Illinois, 27,502; in Mississippi, S. 360. Thus it appears, that whilst there are more than two thousand men advanced against the principal town, Port of Prince.

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and that four hundred and two were still remaining under Friends' care.

The sum of the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings is here shown:

1824. The emigration of the people of color under Friends' care, to Hayti, claiming the action of the State. It was voted that Friends be authorized to write to the Agents of the Yearly Meeting in the Eastern and Continenal Quarters, and ascertain the number of those that are willing to go, and the probability of a passage from any port in the United States, and particularly in that of New York.

It was the judgment of the Meeting that the people of color be hired out under Friends' care, their wages received, their debts paid, and a part of their earnings reserved to pay their taxes, and to enable them to remove to other Government.

1825. Those appointed to go with the people of color, and their willingness to remove to Hayti or elsewhere, report: There are none in the Western Quarter that are willing to go. New Guards have suspended its proceedings until further information can be had.

The Southern Quarter has the number of those that are willing to go, but not otherwise; one is in debt about fifty dollars; one family cannot pay their taxes without much difficulty.

1826. A letter was received and read in this Meeting, giving an account of a boy named Joe, claimed by the Yearly Meeting, who had been taken from Asa Folger in Grant county, in Kentucky, on his passage to Indiana. Measures were taken to restore him to his master, Joe. The paper, with the documents, was forwarded by Folger to the Friends, who afterwards reported that he had received Joe, and restored him to his liberty.

Subsequent minutes show that after examining the titles, the whole family of the foreman, Joe and his wife, and their children, Indiana, a committee was appointed to provide a wagon, horses, and other things necessary for the journey. They were the Symons family, thirty-seven in number.

The Friends appointed in the first month last, to visit the Agents in the Eastern and Continenal Quarters, report that they find under the care of Friends in those two Quarters, 729 persons of color; of those there are 202 children under 12 years of age, 109 to Hayti, 103 to the West, and 15 to Philadelphia; that 90 wish to stay, 63 of the Outland family and 15 of the Dickenson family are in law—20 in the name of Exum Outland; that 25 had gone Westward after this list was made, that the number of those who have gone to the West 79 children, and 20 married to those legally free, who have 50 children; they have hired a vessel to sail from Beaufort, in Carteret county, to take 50 persons, or under, to Hayti, furnished and victualled, for \$1,400; for all above 50 which the vessel can hold, the charge is \$1,600; if the people should not be ready to sail on the 3d of next month, they agreed to pay \$20 demurral for each day's detention. They paid \$600 down, and agreed to pay the remainder on the return of the vessel, or twenty days after her arrival. The vessel is to be chartered for \$1,000, and the crew to be 15. The cost of the crew is to be 100, and the cost of the vessel 100, and the cost of the passage 100.

Friends Nixon and John Fellow were appointed Agents for this Meeting to go to Beaufort, and thence to sail with the people of color to Hayti, and to endeavor to have them comfortably located there, and have them with the rights of citizens.

Considerable difficulty was met with in getting the people embarked. They were finally landed at Aux Cayes. This year, also, it was reported that the Jessop family had been sent to the West by Friends appointed for that purpose.

In 1830, it was reported, 67 sailed on the Brig Doris, for Liberia, and the people of color seem more unwilling to remove from Paraguayan and Pascuotan countries, than they were last year.

A sum account was received from Content, that about 500 were disposed to go to different places, and would acquire, it was thought, in what Friends would advise.

1834. The Eastern Quarter have succeeded in getting out to the West 133, including 23 free ones, and slaves given up, which were connected with the New England Friends, and part of the travelling expenses would be borne by Friends.

They unanimously preferred going to Indiana, and were gratified in the choice. They went in three companies, and with suitable young Friends, to Indiana, and engaged the services of attorneys to manumit, set free, settle or bind them out.

Our readers will be pleased to learn, that in a short time, this lady will commence another of her powerful moral tales in the columns of the *Evening Post*.

THE POSTS.—Again we must ask our poetical correspondents to forgive us. We shall release them soon from captivity. Little pieces, like little people, can creep in anywhere, even in a crowd.

could obtain for them. A contract was then made with the masters, and they received \$1,400 or the sum.

He then proceeded to Ohio, and left four in Chillicothe, twenty-three near Leesburg; and twenty-six went to Wayne county, Indiana, near Newark. His wife and two children, and his mother, remained all the time in the care of the Friends, who treated them cordially and fully, and found a more cordial reception from the people of Ohio and Indiana than he had expected. There was quite a willingness in many to have the colored people settled on their land to rear and cultivate, after learning of their character.

1836. Agents of the Eastern Quarterly report that there have been removed to New York twenty-eight colored people, since last Yearly Meeting. The number remaining, and actually transferred, is about 100, and the colored people are greatly reduced in records; yet it is believed there are natural births which have not been recorded, which will make the number larger than the record shows.

There are at this time (1843) still a few persons to whom the Society retains the legal right—but not more than twenty or fifteen in all. It is believed there is no instance of any being held by another, or if his family could go to, but not otherwise; one is in debt about fifty dollars; one family cannot pay their taxes without much difficulty.

1840. A letter was received and read in this Meeting, giving an account of a boy named Joe, claimed by the Yearly Meeting, who had been taken from Asa Folger in Grant county, in Kentucky, on his passage to Indiana. Measures were taken to restore him to his master, Joe. The paper, with the documents, was forwarded by Folger to the Friends, who afterwards reported that he had received Joe, and restored him to his liberty.

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WASHINGTON, JUNE 14, 1843.

AUSTIN WILLEY, for many years editor of the *Hallowell (Me.) Republican*, an anti-slavery paper, announces in his last number its discontinuance.

Mr. Willey has been a strong, consistent, and thorough advocate of anti-slavery principles and measures, and retires from the field, only because the duty he owes to his family requires him to do so.

WESTERN CORRESPONDENCE.—We have the pleasure this week of submitting to our readers the first of the long-promised series of Letters from the West, by a gentleman identified with its Literature, and of unsurpassed familiarity with its history and statistics. We commend them to the attention of all who would inform themselves of the power and resources of that section of our Confederacy.

EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENCE.—The Paris letter in this week's *Era*, which presents so striking a view of politics in France, is from the pen of a gentleman connected with one of its Governmental Institutions, and will not fail to arrest attention. We have engaged his services as our regular European Correspondent, and he will furnish the readers of the *Era*, not only with notices of the important events, not transpiring in Europe, but also with particular views of Social and Political Life in France. Our readers will soon discover, that though not given to crotchets, he belongs to the school of Progress.

AN APOLOGY.—The length of the masterly reply to Fisher's Folly, the space necessarily occupied with a portion of Colonel Benton's famous speech, and our extensive correspondence, have left us little room for editorials, and have entirely crowded out the story of J. H. P., and the essay on Retribution. These, with two long articles of our own, and the historical sketches of H. B. S., being incapable of spelling, are left over to the *Era*.

Resolved, That it is a cardinal doctrine of the Democratic party to reduce the price of the public lands, and to make donations of the same to actual settlers in limited parcels.

Mr. Fitch, it seems, has not learned that *Non-Intervention* is the policy of the Democratic Party on the subject of Slavery in the District of Columbia, Texas, boundary, and Slavery in the Territories. He says:

"Among the matters connected with the same question, which will be brought before Congress for action, is its existence in the District of Columbia. The question has been raised whether slavery there without the consent of the inhabitants, or at least that such abolition would be a breach of faith, is, I believe, almost universally conceded. There can be no question, however, on the right of property. Congress, in a recent act, prohibiting the People of the District themselves to abolish it if they wish. It is due to our character as a nation, that Congress should prohibit the sale of slaves in our National Capital, under the eyes of the representatives of foreign nations, who may form their conception of the character of our people by what occurs under the administration of that Capital, and, on the other, *out of our own Representatives*, a large majority of whom are from Free States."

The boundary of Texas is another master topic, which has been fully discussed, and has been admitted by the majority of the members of the Senate.

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Mr. Willey has been a strong, consistent, and thorough advocate of anti-slavery principles and measures, and retires from the field, only because the duty he owes to his family requires him to do so.

WESTERN CORRESPONDENCE.—We have the pleasure this week of submitting to our readers the first of the long-promised series of Letters from the West, by a gentleman identified with its Literature, and of unsurpassed familiarity with its history and statistics. We commend them to the attention of all who would inform themselves of the power and resources of that section of our Confederacy.

EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENCE.—The Paris letter in this week's *Era*, which presents so striking a view of politics in France, is from the pen of a gentleman connected with one of its Governmental Institutions, and will not fail to arrest attention. We have engaged his services as our regular European Correspondent, and he will furnish the readers of the *Era*, not only with notices of the important events, not transpiring in Europe, but also with particular views of Social and Political Life in France. Our readers will soon discover, that though not given to crotchets, he belongs to the school of Progress.

AN APOLOGY.—The length of the masterly reply to Fisher's Folly, the space necessarily occupied with a portion of Colonel Benton's famous speech, and our extensive correspondence, have left us little room for editorials, and have entirely crowded out the story of J. H. P., and the essay on Retribution. These, with two long articles of our own, and the historical sketches of H. B. S., being incapable of spelling, are left over to the *Era*.

Resolved, That it is a cardinal doctrine of the Democratic party to reduce the price of the public lands, and to make donations of the same to actual settlers in limited parcels.

Mr. Fitch, it seems, has not learned that *Non-Intervention* is the policy of the Democratic Party on the subject of Slavery in the District of Columbia, Texas, boundary, and Slavery in the Territories. He says:

"Among the matters connected with the same question, which will be brought before Congress for action, is its existence in the District of Columbia. The question has been raised whether slavery there without the consent of the inhabitants, or at least that such abolition would be a breach of faith, is, I believe, almost universally conceded. There can be no question, however, on the right of property. Congress, in a recent act, prohibiting the People of the District themselves to abolish it if they wish. It is due to our character as a nation, that Congress should prohibit the sale of slaves in our National Capital, under the eyes of the representatives of foreign nations, who may form their conception of the character of our people by what occurs under the administration of that Capital, and, on the other, *out of our own Representatives*, a large majority of whom are from Free States."

The boundary of Texas is another master topic, which has been fully discussed, and has been admitted by the majority of the members of the Senate.

Considerable difficulty was met with in getting the people embarked. They were finally landed at Aux Cayes. This year, also, it was reported that the Jessop family had been sent to the West by Friends appointed for that purpose.

In 1830, it was reported, 67 sailed on the Brig Doris, for Liberia, and the people of color seem more unwilling to remove from Paraguayan and Pascuotan countries, than they were last year.

A sum account was received from Content, that about 500 were disposed to go to different places, and would acquire, it was thought, in what Friends would advise.

1834. The Eastern Quarter have succeeded in getting out to the West 133, including 23 free ones, and slaves given up, which were connected with the New England Friends, and part of the travelling expenses would be borne by Friends.

They unanimously preferred going to Indiana, and were gratified in the choice. They went in three companies, and with suitable young Friends, to Indiana, and engaged the services of attorneys to manumit, set free, settle or bind them out.

Our readers will be pleased to learn, that in a short time, this lady will commence another of her powerful moral tales in the columns of the *Evening Post*.

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